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THE ECONOMIC-MILITARY STRENGTHENING  
OF BRAZIL, A FACTOR OF MAIN IMPORTANCE  
FOR THE SECURITY OF THE U.S.A. AND OF  
THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD.  
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I - INTRODUCTION

The present social-economic conjuncture the world is facing proves, even to the less enlightened observer, the existence of two great antagonic and unreconcilable ideological currents, fighting each other and, thus, contributing to the present political-economic instability, which fatally will lead to a third world war of unpredictable consequences.

The present situation characterized by the "pre-war" state demands of the nations which form the democratic front a complete union, joint efforts void of egoism, of individual or national prides, without precedents in history, for they are imposed by the very instinct of national survival and the continuity of Christian civilization.

A retrospective analysis, quick and superficial, of the evolution and expansion of Communism is essential to a perfect understanding of the decisive historical moment we are living in and serves to demonstrate, in a logical way, the unpostponable necessity of the establishment of a strong, lasting and thorough cooperation among the peoples of the Americas - especially the United States and Brazil - to guarantee the existence of a free world.

II - EVOLUTION AND EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM  
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Czar Russia is a power of great demographic value, with the additional advantages of an exceptional geographic position and still unexploited extraordinary mineral and agricultural resources. After a period of prestige in European politics, Russia, due to the moral corruption

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of its Court, the incompetence of its authorities and the cultural backwardness of its people, towards the end of the 19th century reveals unmistakable signs of decadence under a general climate favourable to revolutionary movements. The failure of the Russian-Japanese war and the economic crisis of 1903 contributed to stress the overwhelming deficiencies of the Euro-Asiatic coloss and to stimulate the development of a revolutionary current under the leadership of LENIN and designed to introduce the ideals of Marx and Engels. In Russian Communism found the ideal climate for its propagation and settlement: a morally bankrupt government incapable of administering an ignorant and hungry population, who would listen to agitators promising it a new paradise on earth - a nation that had been defeated on the battle-field by a country which was just emerging on the world scenery as a military and naval power.

Repeated revolutionary movements took place and demanded drastic steps by the Czar. At the beginning of the century, therefore, Communism was passing its pre-revolutionary stage, a stage characterized by the persistent and dynamic underground activity of its main personalities, among who Lenin stands out. As a consequence of the defeat imposed by Japan, the Communist movement definitively enters its revolutionary stage and begins its march for the conquest of power. The administrative inability of the government to solve the great and unpostponable national problems accelerates the progress of the movement and the steps taken by the police condition the choice of the future leaders of the Party. The whole European situation contributed to aggravate the internal instability of the country. In 1914, without the necessary military, economic and moral preparation, still weak from the Russian-Japanese failure and with its internal front split up, Russia entered the war at the side of the Western powers to fight the highly skilled German military forces and, as was to be expected, experienced anew a terrible defeat. During the year of 1917, events take place which will alter profoundly the prevailing

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regime in Russia and marks the beginning of a period of world anxiety, an anxiety which day by day grows stranger and will, fatally, lead to a new world conflict.

February 1917 marked the triumph of the Communist revolution, the Czarist regime disappeared and birth was given to Communist Russia in the World. By means of fire and steel, the Communist leaders consolidate the new regime, even though having to fight the intervention of foreign powers in its territory.

Thanks to the fabulous agricultural and mineral resources, to the mentality of its people who for centuries was wrapped up in an exaggerated mysticism and deep poverty, Russia finally succeeded and maintained its isolation from the capitalist nations for a period of over 25 years. Once the internal situation seemed consolidated, the Russian Communists set up the basis for the creation of a favourable climate to the World Revolution of the Proletariat. In March 1919, during a congress of Communist Parties from several countries, through the initiative of Lenin, the Communist Internationale was founded with the purpose to fight for the Communist ideal in all countries and with the use of all possible means.

As set out above, we find that in 1920 there is Communism only in the Soviet State, though thoroughly devoted to the maintenance of its own existence and seeking to expand, not only as defensive process, but also in accordance with its ideal of the world revolution and of setting a new mark in the history of mankind. In the other countries, there are merely a few intellectuals, deeply theoretic, without the support of the masses and without a national atmosphere for Communist expansion. Consequently, they are, then, of no expression nor a cause of preoccupation for the constituted powers. Between 1920 and 1937, the Communist Internationale enlists hundreds of active Communists of numberless countries, trains them in the best Communist revolutionary techniques and causes the breaking out certain nations (Brazil and Spain) of revolutionary movements aimed at taking over the government.

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Since 1935, the Communist menace gradually grows into a world menace and to fight it there appear the Nazi and the Fascist regimes nourished by the Anglo-American capital. The appearance of Nazism and Fascism fascinates some nations and seems to check for some years the meticulous and gradual rise of the economic-military and ideological force of Russia. While the Western world occupies itself with the analysis and evaluation of Hitler's and Mussolini's activities, Russia prepared itself for the campaign which seemed decisive for the Communist regime.

It is just to stress the exceptional agro-industrial development of Russia during the period from 1920 to 1939, achieved by means of the firm determination of its chiefs, the slavery system imposed on its people and the purposes and objectives set by the government for the survival of the regime. The second great world war which broke out in 1939 provided Russia with the ideal conditions to concretize its territorial expansion and launch it definitively as the second great world power, only exceeded by the USA. The German-Soviet Friendship Treaty signed in 1939 is the first positive Russian step as a military power and the first evidence of the firm, obstinate and objective policy of its leaders. The treaty mentioned fitted, indeed, the momentary interests of both signatories. Still recalling the lessons of 1914-1918, Germany was earnestly trying to avoid a two-front fight: the treaty gave it complete liberty to act against the Western powers and provided for the supply of goods, raw materials and agricultural products by Russia; the latter, in turn, gained the necessary time for the acceleration of its war preparations and left it in a situation to watch and await the final results of the fight in the West; Russia succeeded in incorporation new territories which enlarged its borders, and thus gained a substantial space for the strategic manoeuvre planned by Russian High-Command to be put into practice in the course of the actions against Germany. The Russian-German conflict represented an unavoidable situation, a political determinism which resulted from the quality as continental powers of both parties, the

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territorial and economic needs of Germany and traditional German ambition of expansion.

The German campaign against Poland provided Russia with a first expansionist opportunity by allowing it to partially occupy Poland. The occupation of this country served a double purpose: a) to enlarge the Russian borders towards the West and thus to enlarge the area available to carry out a future "Retreat Manoeuvre" which would hold up the German invasion of the domestic territory; b) to create a zone of influence and to spread ideas right in the heart of Central Europe. The occupation of Lithuania, of Estland and Letland also fitted these purposes.

The declaration of war by Germany provided Russia with its great opportunity, that historical moment whereafter Russia intended to struggle for life or death as a nation and for the chance of definitively introducing the Marxist ideal to the world or to see it disappear as a philosophical doctrine. All resources are thrown into the turmoil. Germany's war against Poland and France had a clearly political-economic character. The Russian-German war, however, in addition to these aspects, had an ideological meaning, because it represents the fight of two different philosophies of life struggling to survive and their soldiers fought out their battles with a mixture of faith, ideal and real mysticism.

Under the pressure of momentary difficulties, the democratic powers were induced to give their support to the Soviet Nation against the common enemy, and so they have done without reservation.

The Allies, with their enormous force of propaganda - radio, press, movie, magazines, books, slogans, etc. - have launched Russia all over the world a first-class world power. This very propaganda has created a Russian Mystic, to the disadvantage of the more legitimate democratic interests. In thousands of places where Russia so far had only been known as an anti-Christian nation under a slavocrat regime.

Thus, the propaganda of the Allies rendered Russia and the

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Communist revolution such valuable a service as even the Soviet State would have been unable to carry out with grester devotion or efficiency, for this Allied propaganda destroyed the very arguments applicable to Russia to be used by the democratic powers in a not-sistant future. The material conjuncture of the war caused the democratic governments to invalidate the force of their arguments against the Soviet regime. This contrast is the more to be regretted and is actually one of the incongruities of our regime, because they grew and helped to stab, slowly though profoundly, the democratic organism.

In the course of the war operations, the Russian achievements were celebrated by the allied propaganda in prose and verse, with a greater emphasis than the allied actions.

All this seemed to be justified by the impossibility of the invasion of the continent and served to hold in suspense the public opinion of the world. The names of Stalingrad, Smolensk, Moscow, Leningrad and so many others began to be pronounced and worshipped by millions of human beings.

With the return of the successful Russian Army, which the enormous help the Allies had conditioned, with the final victory over Germany and the consolidation of the Communist regime in Eastern Europe, Russia began to enjoy an exceptional political situation.

The indecisions of the Allied powers and the well-defined political directives and objectives of the Russians caused Russia to become an important nation with a prominent rôle in the direction of world affairs and expulsing England and France from the positions they formerly secured.

After the war, Russia succeeded in extending its zone of influence to the very heart of Europa, as far as to the neighbourhood of the Rhine, that century-old barrier between France and Germany,

The political situation of Europe, in the post-war period, can be seen on Chart n° 1.

Another event of outstanding importance contributed to weaken

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the position of the democratic powers and to positively strengthen the Communist world.

China, a country of about 500 million inhabitants, with vast agricultural and mineral resources and a continent in itself, joined the Communist orbit, guaranteeing the Reds the total domination of the geopoliticians "Heart Country". The importance of the territorial continuity between Russia and China and the high potential forces they both represent, are factors of added preoccupation to the democratic.

The Soviet expansion after the war has increased and concretized officially on the following dates, when the respective Communist governments were set up:

- Albany - 1 January 1946 ; - Rumania - 2 november 1946;
- Bulgaria - 3 November 1946; - Poland - 4 January 1947 ;
- Hungary - 5 May 1947; - Tchecoslovakia - 6 February 1948;
- Eastern Germany - 7 October 1950.

As a summary of the evolution of the Communist expansion over the world during the period between 1920 and 1950, the following comparative data have been worked out:

In 1920

<u>Communist World</u>	<u>Area in square Kilometers</u>	<u>Inhabitants</u>
Russia	20,000,000	120,000,000
besides a few followers in the European countries, insignificant, however, in number and quality.		

In 1950 - See chart n° 1, re Europe

<u>Communist World</u>	<u>Area in square kilometers</u>	<u>Inhabitants</u>
Russia	22,000,000	194,000,000
China	9,000,000	500,000,000
European satellites	1,230,000	82,000,000
	<u>32,230,000</u>	<u>776,000,000</u>

in addition to a considerable number of followers in all democratic countries, who, most of them, are under the spell of a Communist mystic which induces them to fight for the Marxist ideals even if against the national interests of their home-countries. In several countries, the Communist Parties have important memberships, both in

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quality and quantity.

If we take the total area world (140,000,000 sq. km. ) and its population (2,400,000,000 inhabitants ) , we will see that the Communist world, during the 30 years of its expansion, has conquered about 1/4th of the total space and one-third of the entire world population, a circumstance - no doubt about it - of the utmost seriousness, if we consider the limited time in which this territorial expansion and development of the revolutionary ideals has taken place. The above figures get added importance if we go on to consider the geographical distribution of the continental expansion over Eurasia, with profound reflections on a global strategy, with regard to the domination of the world specifically from Eurasia and Africa, and the existence of national parties fighting for the installation of Communism in the world, acting as forces of dissolution and as loyal vanguards of Soviet expansionism.

### III - THE POSITION OF EUROPE - COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS, IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, OF THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES WHICH ARE PECULIAR TO THE DEMOCRATIC AND THE COMMUNIST NATIONS.

A) The explanation in item II shows as a Europe split into two blocks: Eastern Europe, including Russia and its satellites (Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Eastern Austria ); and Western Europe, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Western Germany, France, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Western Austria, England and Switzerland. Yugoslavia and Finland may be considered as countries of an undefined position, due to their geographical conditions of countries bordering Soviet States, their racial and cultural tendencies and, further, the attitude of indecision of the Tito Government. Thus, the European situation reveals itself definitely favourable to Russia and her satellites, by reasons which shall be developed below on the basis of historic-geographical arguments as well as such of a political-economic nature. On the Soviet side, there is a unity of



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thought and action, an objective policy guiding the work and planning for the pacific conquest of Europe and to set out, afterwards, for the conquest of the world. History has taught us that the autocrat regime permits a much better preparation of the nation for war in a short period of time and seems to guarantee the carrying out of quick and unexpected operations. If we, therefore take into account the political tensions which at present shake Europe the countries behind the Iron Curtain are in a better position to be trained for war, for they concentrate entirely on the war production though at the sacrifice of their national standards of living; they all work fully for the war as a sole unit under the Russian boot. A factor of main importance which serves to stress the Communist advantage is that, in all eastern nations, there are strong Communist wings, whilst on the side of the Iron Curtain such open agents of the democratic countries are not permitted. "Out of the twelve signatory countries of the Atlantic Treaty, the which on the European continent represent the largest human assets (80,000,000 inhabitants) and the best material chances, namely France and Italy, are also those most seriously undermined by Communism".

From the economic-industrial point of view, there is a relative equilibrium between the two groups, which, however tends to become more favourable to the countries behind the Iron Curtain due to their available resources and the adopted labour regime.

On the democratic side, in the first place we run across lack of doctrine, a national spirit which annihilates the joint efforts and nations which having experienced the climax of their cultural prosperity at present tend to be surpassed by younger nations; those nations, like France and Italy, which have had a past of glory and power, now have generations who are exhausted from successive wars which never succeeded in bringing them the desired peace and relaxation, and, even less, a victory on the battle-field, which might have helped to raise their morale and compensate for the any moral and material losses.

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France, in 1870, in 1914-1918, and again in 1939-1940, has successively been defeated by Germany despite alliance with England.

The German demographic superiority as against the French is only of a 2:1 proportion and becomes annulled with the English aid.

History demonstrates that, in the two last Great Wars, Germany has quickly smashed the whole French defence and, at both times, has reached the Calais Strait. English cooperation in the fight on land has proved deficient and precarious. Its intervention on the continent, except at Waterloo, has unmistakably demonstrated the great attraction of the Englishmen for the sea. From all that we may conclude that France no longer has the qualities which made its people famous, does not believe in its impossibilities, because it is an exhausted nation, with generations who have experienced at least the two greatest world catastrophies and still bear in mind all the horrors of war. The fear of a new conflict is a generalized feeling and serves to give more weight and influence to the "pro-peace" slogan of Soviet propaganda.

Similar considerations may be applicable to Italy, too. Italy, has always revealed itself rather weak on the military side and still during the past Germany, as its ally, had to give it support in troops on all positions to save the Italians from tremendous military failures. Just like France, Italy is depressed and skeptical about advantages of a war.

England, is, indeed, the only impressive value of the North Atlantic Treaty, obviously after the United States. The English people has a fighting spirit, political wisdom, a global war mentality based on its century-old tradition at sea and the recent demonstration of efficiency in the air. As an air-naval power England ranks as a first-class ally. Its geographical situation, isolated from continent, is of outstanding importance for all operations directed towards the continent.

With Germany out as a nation, the only Western military force on land capable of stopping the Soviets has been eliminated. The North Atlantic Treaty and the North-American assistance to the

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European continent, are a clear proof of the weakness of the democratic nations, of the disadjustments among them and the difficulties raised by them to the creation of a community of nations which would fight for a common ideal concerning in the long run, their own national survival, the very lives of them all.

The democratic nations only united completely at critical moments when the enemy is on the door ready for the final blow. The history of the last two great wars has taught valuable lessons. In the past, the weapons which were employed allowed the United States, isolated by the oceans and free of the menace of an invasion to prepare its intervention at the right moment and with powerful means, thus deciding for the final victory of the democracies. With the progress, however, and the development of the means for a total destruction, which demand of all nations to be able to repel instantly and aggressively any attack of the enemy or also to bend to the first strike, will it be possible for the United States to avoid a definitive collapse in Europe? We doubt it.

To stress the unstable nature of the democratic nature of the democratic alliances, the little regard of the European people towards the Americans, let us recall a personal statement made by General Eisenhower, then the Supreme Commandant of the NATO Forces during the latter part of 1951:

Question to the General: "Is there any anti-American feeling in Western Europe?"

Answer: It seems that the press does not sufficiently explain to the people the reasons why the American units are stationed in the different European countries. Their presence in certain provinces creates conflicts which are inevitable. Their habits, foods, methods, of labour and amusements are altogether different from the local ones. The task of the liaison officers is not at all easy. For these purely human contacts, there is no need of outstanding students of the Military Academies, but of men of comprehensive nature, of common sense who may succeed in strengthening the bonds of friendship with the local population. American soldiers often run across

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sayings such as this: "The Americans should go home." Naturally they comment on such things... "It is up to the press to explain to the Frenchmen, to the Englishmen, etc. the reasons why the American troops are here. It is necessary to that these troops came to help the defence of countries which have just been through war and which are facing again a serious threat." Speaking like this to the newspapermen, Eisenhower has given a slight hint of the feeling of uneasiness there is in Europe with regard to the American forces. Other concrete facts could be mentioned.

Therefore, by an impartial and objective analysis, we may conclude that the Western forces in Europe, for the outlined reasons, cannot offer a substantial resistance to the communist forces; they are bound to be smashed, not only by the numerical superiority of the Communist hords and the strategical and tactical unity of the East, but also by the democratic indecisions and a false nationalistic feeling to be found so often in potentially weak and unarmed nations.

B) Let us make a comparative analysis of the antagonical groups:

COMMUNISTS - Russia and Satellites

1) - Advantages:

- The strategic unity of Moscow.
- The privileged position of occupation of and predominance on the continent, in the West and East; the domination of Eurasia has a ponderable influence on the disposal of the richness of the Near East, the Suez and North Africa.
- The confusion, negligence and indifferentism of the democratic nations.
- The Soviet Army stationed in Europe, superior in number to the armies of the members of the Atlantic Treaty
- The Communist parties which exist in all countries.
- The human reserves and these of the satellite countries.
- Self-sufficiency in regard to raw materials.
- Gradual expansion of the revolutionary ideas.

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The strategical unity should be understood in a global sense, for there is a Total or Global Strategy, which includes all of the following Strategies: Military, economic, financial, moral, psychological, etc.

2) - Disadvantages:

- Inferiority of industrial-technical-scientific resources to face, at the moment, the democratic powers, especially the United States.
- Lack of a global war mentality, considering that the modern war is tri-dimensional, involving land, air and sea, and for this war the Russians are prepared (non-existence of a Navy, domination of the seas-naval tradition, an air fleet of world, strategic bases and airports) due to the geographic environment under which their policy has developed; This disadvantage also applied to Germany, which, as Russia was definitely a continental nation.
- Inability to submit the deeply rooted Christian faith which predominates among the peoples.
- Opposition of human nature, especially in the Western hemisphere, to the Communist system.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONS -

1) - Advantages:

- Industrial-technical-scientific superiority.
- A global war mentality.
- Superiority in the air and on the sea. Qualitative superiority in the air. Definite naval superiority.
- Monopoly of the atomic weapons, in quantity and quality.

2) - Disadvantages:

- Lack of a political-strategical unity of the nations belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty.
- Contradictions of the democratic regime, allowing in its midst the existence of groups which fight it and devotedly labour for its surrender.
- Nationalistic egoism and pride, aggravated by the unscrupulous

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employment of capital and the disagreeable attitude of disregard of the national interests by representatives of the large international cartels.

Gradual loss of territories and of high demographic values.

The necessity of facing local conflicts, which absorb considerable reserves of human, material and financial means and obviously contribute to weaken the demographic values.

In the light of what history has to teach and considering the present situation, there are the following conclusions:

a )- Russia has no interest in a short-term war, for the following reasons:

- Industrial-technical-scientific inferiority, mainly in the atomic field; a basic point in Soviet policy is the winning of time necessary for the establishment of a certain atomic parity.
- The legal existence in the democratic nations of agents of the Soviet policy, acting as factors of national dissolution and as loyal vanguards of Soviet expansionism.
- New conquests gained on the ideological side and through internal conflicts, civil war, are more interesting for the intensification of the Soviet expansion than those obtained by the force of foreign weapons.

b) Russia has interest in:

- the maintenance of a climate of instability in world politics, which contributes to strengthen its own regime and justifies the drastic measures of its government.
- The irruption of civil wars, in order to weaken the democratic powers, to bend the moral of the weakened nations and, possibly, to gain new allies.
- The execution of universal campaigns, by means of striking slogans, which are easily acceptable to popular mind and aimed at delaying the breaking out of a conflict with the Americans and to gain time essential for the establishment of an atomic parity

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- The stimulation, the feeding and actively maintaining alight the flame of Marxist revolution all over the world, without getting involved directly in affairs and using whatever means there are must submit to the national characteristics of each nation, the feelings and desires of the different peoples and of influential individuals in national life (the YENAN tactic)

Considering:

- c) - That it is almost impossible, materially, to maintain Western Europe immune to a Soviet offensive and to avoid an invasion, should it be tried, similar problems to those created by the last war would have to be faced again: the invasion of the continent by the classical means, from operation bases located in England, Turkey and North Africa, the latter provided the Allied bases situated on the Mediterranean are maintained, as it would be desirable.
- d) that the USA during the last war was the veritable arsenal of the democracies and that, in a future war, the American continent will be the last bulwark left the Democracy, whence the new crusades will depart for the re-establishment of a free world.
- e) it becomes imperative that the Americans, thinking of their own national survival, life and ideals, seek to strengthen the Western hemisphere, as they did with Europe, helping in a human and objective way, to root out the Communist menace and constituting together with all the other American nations an integrated community, where all love and respect each other and show themselves worthy of the sacrifice for freedom.

#### IV - STRENGTHENING OF BRAZIL - AN IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE DEMOCRATIC WORLD

- 1) Our former considerations have clearly outlined the difficulty situation created for the great democratic nation as the leader of the free world. We have tried to illustrate in detail the geopolitical supremacy of the Soviet world, through the absolute domination of Eurasia and the advantageous conditions of the

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Communist world as a consequence of democratic indecisions and weakness of its members. Despite the development of the weapons of destruction, the super sonic aviation, the B-50 bombers etc, the most eminent scholars of warcraft have expressed their belief that the decision of a future conflict will still rest with the forces on land.

The following currents can be made about a future conflict between the Democratic nations and the Communist World:

a) - The United States has the monopoly of the atomic bomb in quantity and quality. Thus, decision should be reached, in a fast and overthrusting manner by means of an air invasion of 300 to 300 B-36 or B-50 bombers carrying atomic bombs, in the thrown over the large towns and the main Russian industrial centres waiving them out and causing the sacrifice of 36 to 50 million people and the paralyzation of the industrial forces of the invaded country. This action by air would have the support of the Allied domination in the air and on the sea. The use of the atomic bomb over Western Europe, even though under the Russian occupation, would be avoid the advantage, because the essential thing is the destruction of the Russian industrial centre; and as Liddell Hart put it, "to inflict death and destruction on a large scale is equal to destroying one's own future prosperity";

b) The United States and Russia both have the atomic bomb under equal conditions or with a slight advantage to the American side. In this event, the Russians would have the advantage for the following reasons:

- an authoritarian government, which guarantees an immediate start of the operations;
- an ample domination of the polar regions, which allows the construction of air bases in the proximity of the United States;
- numerical superiority in the air of the Russians;
- demographic superiority of the Russians as well as of land forces.



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Under the latter alternative, the nation which has the priority of starting operations, may inflict such heavy loss and damage to the enemy that he may not recover his strategical initiative of operations for some time. The ultimate decision will, then, rest with the forces on land. "Peace will be a Tartaric Peace, towering over ruins". Just as Michel Pravdin said referring to Tuli, the youngest son of Gengis Khan: "He never left behind him a single garrison, wherever he passed nothing would be left but inhospitable ruins. In towns with almost a million inhabitants, he would not leave alive either a dog or a cat". A final forecast of the conflict would serve no purpose, but all seems to indicate that victory will be obtained by the nation which has the larger demographic value (equal technical-scientific conditions provided), specially if it can count on favourable conditions.

c) - The atomic bomb is neutralized and is not employed by either party for mutual fear, as it has been the case in the past with other capons considered decisive at certain moments and capable of eliminating whole Armies. In such an event, we should be back at the classical war, of a global and world-wide character.

2) If we adopt the two latter alternatives, because it is our belief that Russia will avoid war, by all means, as long as the conditions of the first alternative, we may gress the outstanding importance of the American continent, specially should it be impossible to keep Western Europe in the event that the operations are started by Russia, as it seems probable.

The important role of the American continent becomes evident then isolated as it is on the one side, by the Atlantic Ocean and on the other, guarded at an immense distance by the Pacific. If we take a chart of the American continent, the strategical importance for the defence and maintenance of the United States, of three regions stands out: Canada, The Panama Channel and the Brazilian Northeast sea (see Chart No 2). Canada, in addition to being an excellent supplier of raw materials and of first-class

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human material, serves as operation base, whence the Strategic Air Force may carry the war into the territory of the enemy. The Panama Channel is the only maritime route which permits the American Fleet to operate either in the Pacific or the Atlantic.

The Brazilian Northeast, which encloses the Brazilian States of Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, Paraiba and Alagoas, is the most advanced part of the American continent towards Africa (only 1,800 miles separate it from Dakar).

Its strategic importance for operations carried out in North Africa by American forces has been clearly demonstrated during the last war. It has a similar importance for any European power in operation against the United States or South America.

The strategic importance of the Brazilian Northeast has been recognized already by the Dutchmen, in full swing of the 17th century, when an official document of that time asserted: "Brazil's situation is such that it is perfectly justified if we regard it as the centre, the point of departure for all war operations, whence expeditions directed against the Western Indies and their points can be concretized and executed".

Yet in order to demonstrate the strategic value of the Northeast we go to General Chassin, eminent French military man, about the probable lines of the Russian military strategy in the event of a conflict with the Americans (admitting the atomic parity): "we shall have a general trend towards the south avoid conquering, first, Africa, especially the Belgian Congo, South Africa, Madagascar and, then, the conquest of Australia.

Even then, America will not yet have been defeated (the underline is ours). With the gradually increasing differentiation of the forces, however (and we add our comment here - in view of the Russian demographic superiority), the plan for the conquest of world power aided by larger means of transportation may be the coastal strip between Bahia and Natal, and a simultaneous action, to be carried out at any price, via the Arctic, Iceland and Groen-

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land. A second move, preceding the final invasion, may be aimed at the conquest of the zone of Cuba and Mexico, in the South, and New-Land and Labrador, in the North. Only in the final stage, a generalized offensive would be launched against the heart of the naval power."

When the Americans, in 1823, adopted the famous "Monroe Doctrine", an exceptional political directive which in a later future may serve to maintain the American unity and to preserve American freedom, they intuitively recognized the importance of the integrity of the American continent as a homogeneous unit, united by common ideas and common political aims. If, in 1823, at a time when the oceans guaranteed an absolute isolation to the United States and the means of attack were still primitive compared to those of today, the American continent represented so much to North-American welfare, we may realize the present importance of South America for the defence of the Americas, very especially if, with regard to the evolution of the means of attack, we consider the following words of Oswaldo Aranha: "Aggression, in today's world, is not only that which is directed against a nation's territory, but any action in any other part of the world which may threaten not only its territorial security and existence, but the integrity of its life." As a further development of these words, General Tristão de Alencar Ararípe said the following: "It is actually necessary to revise, in the life of peoples, the concept of national defence. It does not rest on the inviolability of a border, but on the political and moral conscience of the nations."

Yet, according to the present concept of strategic areas, the value of the Northeast is stressed once more in relation to the security of the hemisphere and of the free world. According to the current definition of national strategic areas, the Northeast may be classified, in relation to Brazil, as a 2nd-class strategic

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area and, in relation to the United States, as a third-class area. It may be appropriate to reproduce here the definitions and concepts of strategic areas.

National strategic area - An area which, if lost or destroyed, may weaken the political-economic, psychological and military international position of the country.

1st-class strategic area - an area, the loss or destruction of which may represent a mortal blow to the independence of the nation.

2nd-class strategic area - an area, which, if lost or destroyed, for reasons of political, economic, psychological or military reasons, reduces the capacity of the nation to act independently.

3rd-class strategic area - an area which, generally of a military nature, covers a geographic space essential to the appropriate defence of the 1st-class or 2nd-class strategic areas.

If we analyse the political-economic features of the Northeast, we may conclude that, in relation to Brazil, it should be regarded as a 2nd-class strategic area and, in relation to the United States, a 3rd-class area.

3) - The geographic position of the Brazilian Northeast brings Brazil into the range of the North-American defence system, for the following reasons:

- it guarantees the absolute air-naval domination of the South Atlantic, by means of the creation of air-naval bases in Belém, Fortaleza, Natal, Recife, Salvador and Fernando de Noronha;
- it guarantees the maintenance of the shortest routes between the American continent and North Africa;
- it covers up the southern flank of the United States against an invasion attempted by extra-continental powers.

In addition to these reasons of a geographic nature, we may give others of a political nature, such as that it is:

- a region which will probably be selected for the activities of the Soviet 5th column, as <sup>the</sup> main agitation centre, in the event of a conflict with Russia, because:

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- a) it is a zone where the Brazilian air-naval bases for the crossing of the Atlantic are located;
  - b) it is a zone of defence against possible Communist actions originating in the Dakar region;
  - a region, where the social-economic conflicts conditioned by the climatic and economic factors are strongest and serve to stress the differences between the North and the South of the country, thus giving cause to most transcendental danger to national unity;
  - consequently, a region indicated as centre of permanent social-economic agitations and the dissemination of the Communist ideals, especially at this time.
- 4) - The human and material resources of Brazil, if developed and improved, may mean a substantial aid to the United States in their fight against Communism, be it on the ideological - pacific means - side, be it at war. In the first case, the fight in the ideological field, an ample and thorough cooperation between Brazil and the United States seems imperative and should be aimed at:
- a) - solving the basic economic problems of the agro-industrial development of the country, which, in turn, will improve the national standard of living and the attenuation or elimination of numberless social conflicts resulting from our economic dis-adjustment between the aims and possibilities of our people and the Brazilian economic power.
  - b) - the organization or an organism of counter-propaganda, maintained by and under the guidance of private entities, with governmental approval, designed to neutralize and annul the propaganda and action of the Soviet agents and of the local Communist parties. Some aspects of such a body will be studied later on.

A solution for the alternatives formulated requires the establishment of a Brazilian governmental program concerning specifically:

- the fuel problem: oil and coal

- the problem of hydraulic energy
- the transport problem: by land, sea, air and river
- the industrialization of the country: raw materials, manpower and credit
- the modernization of agriculture: mechanization, manpower and credit
- the educational problem: primary, specialized and technical,

based on an ample cooperation with the American Government, viewed at strengthening Brazil as an economic-military expression of the continent and as a traditional ally of the United States by force of its political convictions and the historic-geographical foundations of its culture.

Provided Brazil may count on the necessary armaments and equipment for the execution of the missions mentioned in the strategic chart of military operations, it would, then, be in a position to take over, effectively and thoroughly, the following responsibilities:

- maintenance of the Brazilian Northeast against any attempt of foreign invasion;
- the air-naval domination of the South Atlantic;
- participation in operations carried out on battle-fronts of minor importance or, maybe, even in Europe, thus freeing a considerable number of American troops; this participation would be preceded by an ample and meticulous preparation of the national public opinion and would be facilitated if the cooperation in peace time would actually meet the objectives mentioned under the first case, thus implementing the agro-industrial efforts of the Americans, be it by exporting strategic materials, be it by the intensification of the basic industries in our territory, or by the domestic industrialization of products or raw materials which are essential to the defence and the progress of the country.

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Our assertions are justified by the following:

a) Demographic Value - Without exaggerated optimism, under the present conditions, with a population of about 55 million inhabitants, Brazil is in a position to mobilize, within a reasonable time, 20 to 25 infantry divisions (400 to 500,000 men), without affecting its internal economy too much by this, provided other factors are figured in. Our estimates are not exaggerated, because we figured on less than 1% of the country's population for the purposes of a military mobilization and have taken into account, too, the emergencies resulting from an international conflict at which the fate of the nation and its life and form of government are at stake. The satellite countries have military forces which amount normally to about 3% of their respective populations. The United States, during the last war, mobilized about 10% of its population for the war effort. Here we are taking only 1% for the Army forces, considering that our present conditions are precarious with regard to the sanitary, economic and technical standards demanded by modern war.

A smaller proportion, of about 100,000 men, may be mobilized for the Air Forces and the Navy, considering the more technical nature of these two forces. The Brazilian possibilities get added importance, if we consider that France, main member of the NATO on the European continent and bound to suffer the main impact of a Soviet offensive, presented the following scheme of its Army organization: in 1951 - 10 divisions; in 1952 - 15 divisions; and in 1953 - 20 divisions.

Obviously, the present conditions of the country demand ample time for the organization of any military force, though it be limited to the necessities of personnel, for all equipment would be supplied by the Americans, as well as the whole logistical support for the subsistence of the country in the event of an international world-wide conflict (especially oil).

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It may, then, be advisable that Brazil and the United States adjust their interests to the common desire of the best utilization of the human and economic Brazilian resources, at a favourable time and prior to the irruption of the hostilities.

The American support to Brazil, in advance and at an opportune time, may represent an exceptional investment of capital and a most important help to its survival. The continuance of the present situation, however, must obviously lead to the intervention of the United States in the Brazilian territory in the event of a conflict with Russia, because of our own economic-military incapacity for defence, entailing, thus, the diversion of means which might be used on the decisive theatres of operation with an important influence on the final decision of the war. Under these circumstances, we would be in a worse position than Italy and Germany, Italy as a negative ally, only representing an additional burden to Germany and requiring her supplementary help to prevent a total internal collapse.

b) Agricultural and Mineral Resources -

To list the Brazilian possibilities with reference to mineral resources essential to war production would be a mere repetition of a matter already wellknown and proved since the last war. The problem of the transportation of strategic minerals is a very important aspect, be it with regard to the merchant marine or the air-naval support. Both could be left to the responsibility of the Brazilian forces, thus liberating American air-naval units for other duties.

c) Industrial-Economic Resources -

Brazilian industry has already reached a high standard of technical capacity. Its thorough utilization can be improved in quantity and quality, not only for the benefit of the improvement of the national standards of living, but also to back up the North-American industry and to outbalance the large industrial concentration there is in the United States.



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Considering all this, we may suggest:

- a) the installation on the national territory of the necessary industries for the treatment of the raw materials which are essential to the United Nations and even of "basic industry" plants (in accordance with the demand for "dispersion" imposed by the Atomic Strategy);
- b) easy importation of essential raw materials to the industrial expansion of Brazil;
- c) increment of the technical-scientific exchange between the two nations - for the United States, in the event of a conflict, a stronger and larger Brazil would represent economy of human means and materials, at least with respect to its internal self-sufficiency and the military maintenance of the South American continent.

5) - From the historical point of view, the friendly relationship between the two great nations is an eloquent testimony of the mutual goodwill and understanding that has always been between them.

Ever since the time of independence, Brazil has always placed itself, unreservedly, at the side of the North-American aims, in all critical periods of American life.

"Fifty-two days after the ratification of the Monroe Doctrine, Brazil adhered to the principles espoused by that message. As per instructions dispatched, on 23 January 1824, to José Silvestre Rebello, the diplomatic representative of Brazil in the North-American capital: "The interests of Brazil are in entire accord with the principles of the government of the United States and its policy." "Brazil was the first country which openly adhered to the Monroe Doctrine, seeking to create, at the same time, the instrument for its implementation, in the sense of true panamericanism, by means of an Offensive and Defensive league." In the past, Jefferson, the great North-American statesman, referring to the freeing of the American seas of pirates, said: "For that purpose, how glad would I be to see the fleets of Brazil and the United

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States sailing together, fraternally, pursuing the same destination." The wish of the great American has come true during the second great war, when the Brazilian and American Navies patrolled, side by side, the South Atlantic waters, full of enthusiasm, heroism and high technical-professional capacity.

During the two great world wars, as in the past, we were on the side of the North-Americans. In 1942, at the installation of the III. Consultative Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, President Vargas pronounced the following words, a confirmation of our tradition and of our old friendship with the North-Americans:

"Since the 7th of December - a date which constitutes a new mark in the life of our communities, because it brought the war to the American continent - we have taken up a position of decision, coherent with our traditional foreign policy and our loyalty to solemn compromises, recalled and reaffirmed more than once in the last time. It is the purpose of the Brazilians to defend, inch by inch, their own territory against any kind of incursions and not to allow that their lands and seas may serve as bases for the assault to sister-nations. We shall not spare sacrifices for the collective defence, we shall do what circumstances demand of us and nothing will be left undone to avoid that, inside our gates, open or disguised enemies find shelter or may cause loss or danger to the security of the Americas."

The sending of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force to the European battle-field, as component part of the brave Vth North-American Army, the steps taken internally for the elimination of the fifth column, the economic cooperation with the North-American war efforts, mainly in the section of the strategic minerals and essential war products, are an eloquent confirmation of the concepts formulated by President Vargas, of democratic loyalty and of our appreciation of the great American nation.

The financial burdens caused by the preparation, the transport and the maintenance of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force, were amply

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rewarded by the prestige obtained by the Brazilian troops, an evident demonstration of the exceptional qualities of the Brazilian soldier as fighter and of his democratic consciousness of fulfilled duty.

The historic events have proved that Brazil in the Americas is the most loyal and decided ally of the United States.

6)- The importance of the Brazilian Northeast salient represents, today as well as in the past, a constant preoccupation to North-American leaders. The two facts mentioned in continuance give evidence of this preoccupation and of the exceptional importance of the Northeast:

a) - Mark S. Watson, of the History Division of the General-Staff of the North-American Army, in an article entitled "The North-American Foreign Policy", states the following: "On 24 May 1940, London informed that 6,000 nazis on board of merchant ships constituted a possible means for those who were already in Brazil to take over the government. It was with a view to check this move and its possible consequences that, on 25 May, the President instructed the Chief of the General-Staff of the Army to prepare a plan for the transport of 10,000 men to Brazil, by air, followed by another group of 100,000 men, by sea. In two days, the Navy worked out the "Pot of Gold" plan, utilizing 4 battleships, 2 plane-carriers, 9 cruisers and 3 squadrons of counter-torpedoers.

The mere threat of 6,000 nazis being transported on merchant ships originated a governmental decision, which was taken within 24 hours, the establishment of a plan involving important Army, Navy and Air forces, troops in a larger number than those stationed on the Brazilian territory and naval forces representing, in terms of units, 7 or 8 times more than the whole Brazilian Navy. In the future, such emergencies may be prevented, provided Brazil can become, a priori, sufficiently strong in opportune time.

b) - Major Alexander P. Seversky, a North-American apologist of the air power, in his article "This Chart can save America", concludes by saying: "The third (belt), which includes<sup>all</sup> Central and South America, will be the supplying belt, the vital reservoir of

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foodstuffs and strategic materials. This is a 'free' area, shut to the enemy. It must be prepared to give support to the efforts in the two other belts. (The underline is ours. The two other belts mentioned are: 1) Alaska, Canada and New-Land. 2) the territory of the United States.) "The functions of these three zones are necessarily superposed. But the concept of the three belts is useful as guide to our thoughts and basic plannings. They are facts which do allow for no arguments. Victory will only be attainable if the Americas become self-sufficient as it will have to happen with an Eurasia under Russian domination." This is the time to start building up this independence. It is a matter which challenges the American governmental, industrial and economic common sense." (The underline is ours.)

The concepts expressed by SEVERSKY, a Russian naturalized American, are excellent and justify the interdependence of the American nations and the joint and total effort which is essential to the survival of the Americas.

7) -. With the ample and uncontrovertible demonstration of Brazil's importance for the defence of the continent<sup>and</sup> of the democratic world, and of the advantages of its economic-military strengthening for the sake of the hemisphere's security, it is fair to bring up also some political-social aspects which must be removed for the execution of the objective.

With respect to Brazil, what becomes imperative is the elimination or neutralization of the open or disguised enemies, who work against the strengthening of the country and its dedication to the cause of democracy. These enemies constitute the Communist groups and are to be found all over the country and in the different spheres of public administration. They must be fought, but what is essential is to fight the causes which favour the dissemination of Communism and which may be formulated as follows:

- cultural backwardness, social misery and disadjustment;
- unhuman employment of capital;

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- open, aggressive and anti-social interference of foreign capitals;
- politization of the masses, by means of obstinate, objective and continued ~~campaigns~~ campaigns of Communist agents;
- administrative inability of certain governmental and private sections to realize the social aims of the working mass;
- ambition to climb up situations not reached before and promised by Communism in exchange of momentary rewards of unfavourable consequences to the national interests (political agreements made by political parties with Communist groups, etc.).

Among the geographic regions of Brazil, the one which obviously fits best these considerations is, no doubt, the Northeast salient. Its economic backwardness with few favourable prospects for the future, the droughts which periodically assail it, the constant emigration of its best human elements to more prosperous regions, the cultural backwardness, the misery which there is and the mysticism which characterizes its people seem to justify, very specially, the proliferation of followers of the Reds in that region (see Chart No.3).

To fight these causes, there is need for an ample cooperation among the forces which combat Communism.

#### V - LINES OF ACTION FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM, IN THE LIGHT OF THE PREVIOUSLY OUTLINED OBJECTIVES.

1 - Communism is a problem of an international nature, and this must be the main feature also of any movement which is meant to work for its elimination or neutralization.

The first aspect, therefore, to be considered in the fight against Communism as an ideological doctrine is the creation of an international body which, just like the KOMINFORM, would centralize all steps taken in the different communities of the world. The secret of Communist success rests with the following factors:

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organization, method, discipline, spirit of decision, unity of doctrine and adjustment of the Marxist directives to the national features. Giving due consideration to the limitations of the democratic regimes, we must act along the same lines as outlined and, as the Communists do, with equal faith, obstination and full devotion to our struggle.

The second aspect for consideration is that of the total cooperation of all national and international forces in the campaign. The enlistment of government entities, of private entities, companies, religious associations and of all citizens who care for freedom and believe in our purposes, all this becomes necessary. For that this cooperation may be effective, the mere declaration of principles formulated by governmental authorities will not suffice. Eisenhower, at present the President of the United States, has said the following: "The policy we shall follow will give recognition to the fact that no country, though it may be as powerful as our own, can by itself alone defend the liberty of all countries under the menace of the Communist aggression from the outside, or the subversive activities in its interior. Mutual security means efficient cooperation among all. Regarding the United States, this means that, as a matter of common sense and national interest, we shall give assistance to other countries, in such proportion as they seriously try to fulfill the rôle which belongs to them in the common task. The heart of each free country must be seriously devoted to the maintenance of its own independence and security."

These are enlightened words and of greatest actuality. They may serve as safe guidance to any program of anti-Communist action. Will they be sufficient? Are they realized by all those who have a direct or indirect responsibility in the solution of the problem or who have something to defend in life? No. It is not enough that the President of the greatest nation of the world should have expressions of loyalty and maximum objectivity. It is necessary, it is even imperative, that all large companies, the large trusts and cartels, the

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foreign capital and the individuals do not employ their disponibilities in a way which would represent a burden to the national interests, which are in opposition to the national feelings and which are of an anti-social nature. It is necessary that these elements of society seek not to reproduce attitudes which were characteristic of the periods of the colonial capital, procedures on which the foundations of England's greatness were built and which produced the spiritual and material stagnation of vast areas of the world. The stage of the colonial capital has passed, it does not fit our world. We are not prejudiced against foreign capital; on the contrary, we are entirely agreeable to it and regard it as a powerful factor in the construction of progress and for the improvement of the standard of living of the under-developped countries or those of scarce capitals. Capital must receive a fair return, but it must become itself a social factor, a factor of improvement of the democratic institutions and an extension of the support and assistance of the State, from the rich men<sup>and</sup> the large companies to the needy, of improvement of the standard of living and social welfare of those who work and produce. It must be human, it must become a factor of social equilibrium.

We may illustrate our point of view with a concrete example. Standard Oil, the largest oil company in the world, has been operating in Brazil for long years, with a clear supremacy on all other oil companies dealing in the country. At the beginning of its operations, obviously Standard invested foreign capital in our territory; but, in the course of the years, it has received enormous returns in national currency. Every year, and this is perfectly just, in order to transfer part of its profit abroad, Standard Oil concurs ponderably to the limitation of our import margins, whilst, at the same time, it enlarges its important financial resources. These are partially invested in the country and partially transferred abroad, by different ways and means. According to the 1951 balancesheet of Standard Oil, its circulating capital alone was of over one billion cruzeiros (as against a budget of 575 millions in 1953, of the National Oil Council);

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and, despite the accumulation of a fabulously large patrimony built up on the Brazilian economy and besides having already refunded, to a large extent, the capitals initially invested, we should like to ask what social benefit has Standard Oil brought us? Is there any private entity which distributes social benefits to Brazilians under the sponsorship of Standard? How many Brazilian experts has Standard Oil trained in oil specialization? What loyal and sincere contribution has Standard made to the National Oil Council and to the Brazilian Government in the matter of exploitation of Brazilian oil? How many Brazilian directors are to be found in Standard's Board of Directors?

It may be replied that the mission of Standard is clearly a commercial one, that it is not a company designed for social assistance, etc.; but it is exactly in these arguments that we find all the evil of capitalism, the contrasts of democracy and powerful weapons of Communist propaganda. It is necessary that individuals, companies and nations give up a little of their own for the sake of the common cause and that they unite unreservedly to fight the enemy who won't forgive their weakness and unlimited ambition.

In a similar situation as Standard, despite the enormous progress it has brought to the country, are the Light & Power, the oil companies, the car companies and numberless smaller organizations.

Which of them has tried to humanize their fabulous resources, to turn them into an agent of social progress, besides those which indirectly paid taxes may represent? With such an attitude they contribute to stimulate the hatred against foreign capital and to strengthen the Communist propaganda. Nevertheless, they might be factors of highest importance in the solution of the Communist problem, by developing ample social programs, especially in regions less favoured by the geographic conditions or which are still undeveloped. Such a sympathizing and human attitude, on the other hand, by contributing to the improvement of the standards of living of backward regions, would indirectly concur to open new markets for larger consumption of the commercial products and to increase the



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profits of the la\_rge organizations.

The third aspect is that of counter-propaganda, which can only attain the desirable amplitude and range, if the two first aspects are realized.

This counter-propaganda must be coordinated by an international organism, charged with the establishment of the unity of doctrine among its members, fiscalizing them and imposing restrictions. National, State and municipal organisms compose the executive elements of this counter-propaganda, and they are to operate in a similar way as the Communist committees, cells and groups, i.e., in accordance with certain common methods, discipline, unity of doctrine, faith and determination. The counter-propaganda must be carried out by all modern means of diffusion of the thought, teaching, ideals, etc., including the political, social, economic, financial, military and religious aspects.

#### CONCLUSION

We have shown, in detail, the interdependence of interests which links Brazil and the United States, we have studied the strategic importance of Brazil's geographic situation for the security of the United States and the Democratic World, we have analysed the real situation of Europe and of the American continent vis-à-vis Soviet expansionism, we have observed the international features of the fight against Communism, we have outlined, with objectivity and impartial analysis, the conditions and deficiencies of the capitalist regime, we have pointed out the solution for uniting efforts to promote the economic-military strengthening of Brazil as an inherent factor for the national defence of the United States, and we have suggested the creation of an organism to be put in charge, on the American continent, of carrying out Communist counter-propaganda, and we have stressed the basic aspects of cooperation.

Our final conclusions would have to be pessimistic, if we did not

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believe in the democratic ideal, in the forces of reason which dignify the human personality, in the numerical and qualitative values of the democratic peoples and in its technical and scientific achievements. We sincerely believe in our success, but our needs must be satisfied as soon as possible, so that the irruption of war events may not find us unprepared, still seeking solutions for problems which have been studied and analysed, but the solution of which was postponed because of indifferentism, egoism, lack of spiritual unity, of faith and ability to survive. The moment demands of us resignation, readiness to sacrifice and to fight, capacity to act and to endure. Exaggerated nationalisms can have no place in an interdependent world, in a world where the solutions of the problems demand cooperation and loyalty.

We believe in the survival of the spiritual forces, in the power of faith and the Christian doctrine, and it is for this reason that we devote ourselves to this new crusade, which will, certainly, confirm once more the triumph of the spiritual forces of culture and of civilization over the materialist forces.

Brazil and the United States shall represent the last bulwarks of liberty - re-affirming the historical tradition of loyal and sincere allies in all great causes of mankind.

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